Discovery of the lost Phonetic Sutras of Panini

By RAGHU VIRA

THE *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* mentions, for the first time, the various constituents of the ancient science of phonetics :

अथ शीक्षां व्याख्यास्यामः । वर्णः । स्वरः । मात्रा । बलम् । साम । सन्तानः । इत्युक्तः शीक्षाध्यायः ॥ Prap. vii, An. 2.

At the present day no Śikṣā work contemporaneous with the above and comprising all the said parts is to be traced. In general, the Prātiśākhyas and the still later Śikṣās deal at sufficiently great length with traditional Sanskrit phonetics of their own times; but the common source from which Patañjali derived most of his quotations, which was afterwards used by Candragomin to form his *Varṇa-sūtras*, and which has been extensively quoted and reproduced by subsequent commentators of such high repute as Jayāditya, Jinendrabuddhi, the author of *Prakriyā-Saṅgraha* of the Jain Śākaṭāyana School, Sṛṣṭidhara and a host of others,[1] was little known till recent times.

It was in the year 1879 that Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī, the illustrious founder of the Ārya Samāja, discovered this work, from where and how we are never told. The very year ऋतुरामाङ्कचन्द्रे ऽब्दे माघमासासिते दले । चतुर्थी शनिवारे[2] he published it at Benares with a Hindī commentary of his own. Hitherto the book has attracted little attention from the scholarly world. Even so late as the year 1927

[1] See notes on the text in the following pages. It is most significant that in *Śabda-kaustubha*, a commentary on Aṣṭ., Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita quotes the sūtras of this *Śikṣā*, but in *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, where he has arranged the Aṣṭ. sūtras according to his own plan, he gives different phonetic sūtras. These are attributed by the author of the commentary *Bāla-manoramā* to Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita himself.

[2] V.S. 1936 = A.D. 1879–80.

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Dr. Siddheśvara Varmā, in his work *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, has made no mention of this *Śikṣā*. (He has also ignored Candra's *Varṇa-sūtras*, and has referred to *Caturadhyāyikā* by the title *Atharva-veda-prātiśākhya*, which is really a different text.[1])

Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī ascribed this work to Pāṇini: on what authority we do not know. A prolonged search has failed to bring to light the original MS. The Board of Trustees of "The Paropakāriṇī Sabhā" at Ajmer were good enough to allow me to examine thoroughly the records bequeathed by the late Svāmī. There most of the MSS. of his works are missing. The MS. was certainly taken away by some of his disciples either during his lifetime or after his death. To judge his disciples more liberally, it might have even been presented to one of them by the Svāmī himself. I accordingly very carefully made a list of all his disciples, and instructed a friend of mine, who was appointed by the D.A.V. College of Lahore, to make a final search for Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī's letters, to keep a keen eye over the houses of Svāmī's disciples. Six months' labours proved of no avail. So that now we do not know whether the colophon of the MS. is responsible for this ascription to Pāṇini as the author, or whether Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī had made his own researches and had arrived at this conclusion. None of the works, beginning with the *Mahābhāṣya* and ending with the *Śabdakaustubha*, which derive quotations from our work mentions the name of the author.

It stands undisputed that, having been quoted by Patañjali, it must be a very ancient work.

The question that first of all puts itself before us is whether there is any reference in literature to Pāṇini's authorship of

[1] This book was edited by Pt. Viśvabandhu for the Panjab University Oriental Series.

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a Śikṣā. The versified Śikṣā of Piṅgalācārya,[1] which is popularly known as the *Pāṇinīya-Śikṣā*, begins: **अथ शिक्षां प्रवक्ष्यामि पाणिनीयं मतं यथा** (all the three recensions). This establishes that Pāṇini did compose a Śikṣā work, for otherwise the statement is void of relevancy. Besides, a comparative study of this Śikṣā with the *Varṇa-sūtras* of Candragomin leads irresistibly to the conclusion that, just as for his *Śabda-Lakṣaṇa* and other grammatical treatises he had recourse to the works of Pāṇini, similarly the basis of his *Varṇa-sūtras* must be Pāṇinean. That the present work is the basis for Candra's *Varṇa-sūtras* is established beyond doubt by a comparison of the two works.

The first verse of Candra is now unfortunately lost to us in original, and is available only in its Tibetan version, which runs :—

Jam. dpal. gzhon. nur. gyur. pa. la.
phyag. 'ćhal. lo | Nammkhaḫ. rluṅ.
las. rab. tu. byuṅ. zhiṅ. lus. las. ni |
yaṅ. dag. gyen. bskyod. rim. pas.
kha. naṅ. sgra. riṅ. di | Gnas.
rnams. de. ma. thag. tu. rab. tu. rnam.
rćol. ldan | yi. ge. ñid. du. kun. du.
'gro. ba. gaṅ. de. sgra |

Dr. Liebich renders it thus :—

Was aus Himmel und Wind entstehend, aus
dem Körper emporsteigend, allmählich in
Munde sich ausbreitet und, mit den Organen
und den beiden Thätigkeiten (**प्रयत्न**) vereint,
zum Zustand von articulierten Lauten gelangt,
das ist das Wort (**शब्द**).

[1] See the commentary published in the Benares edition of *Śikṣāsaṁgraha* :
ज्येष्ठभ्रातृभिर्विहिते व्याकरणे ऽनुजस्तत्रभवान् पिङ्गलाचार्य-
स्तन्मतमनुभाव्य शिक्षां वक्तुं प्रतिजानीते अथ शिक्षामिति ॥

This verse in Indravajrā metre was essentially the same as the opening verse of our work—

आकाशवायुप्रभवः शरीरात् समुच्चरन् वक्त्रमुपैति नादः ।
स्थानान्तरेषु प्रविभज्यमानो वर्णत्वमागच्छति यः स शब्दः ॥

Candra tried to improve upon Pāṇini by making the addition of the two *prayatnas* in the third quarter, and has further made the second quarter uniform with the others by making the first syllable heavy.

Now to come to Candra's sūtras proper. These exhibit the same order in treatment as those of Pāṇini, the *sthānas* being dealt with first, the *karaṇa*, the two *prayatnas*—the *ābhyantara* and the *bāhya*—coming next, followed by the varieties of vowels and semi-vowels (with the exception of *r*). Of these, two (31, 48) are taken over from Pāṇini, and twenty-five are merely a verbal reproduction with slight changes made in the construction and sequence of words in order to have a more uniform structure in which the name of the *sthāna*, *karaṇa*, and *prayatna* always comes first in the nominative singular, e.g. :—

कण्ठोऽकुहविसर्जनीयानाम्, S. 3.
जिह्वाग्रं दन्त्यानाम्, S. 15.
संवृतत्वमकारस्य, S. 22.

To this class may also be added five more sūtras, except that three of them (8, 29, 32) do not recognize the *Yamas* (which were probably used in reciting the Vedic texts only), while two others (4, 5) include *i* and *u* in the category of *kaṇṭha-tāluka* and *kaṇṭhoṣṭha* respectively.

To these Candra adds sixteen more: One (1) is introductory, two (2, 14) are *adhikāra-sūtras* (तत्र स्थानम्, करणम्), one (21) enumerates the *ābhyantara-prayatnas*, one (18) clears up the student's difficulty in comprehending what the *karaṇas* are for letters other than dentals, cerebrals, and palatals

(**शेषाः स्थानकरणाः**), four others (24, 25, 34, 35) must have originally been taken from Pāṇini, though they have not survived in the present mutilated text (**तेभ्यो विवृततरत्वमेदोतोः, ताभ्यामैदौतोस्ताभ्यामप्याकारस्य, कादयो मावसानाः स्पर्शाः, अन्तस्था यरलवाः**), three (41–3) define *hrasva*, *dīrgha*, and *pluta*, three (44–6) are loan sūtras from *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (**उच्चैरुदात्तः, नीचैरनुदात्तः, समाहारः स्वरितः** i, 2, 29–31), and the last of these is **स्वस्थानानुनासिको निरनुनासिकश्च** " vowels are either pure or nasalized ".

These correspondences are of the same character as those between Candra's grammar and *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The following is the text of Pāṇini's *Śikṣā-sūtras*. Short notes have been appended to most of the aphorisms. These embody references to authors and works which have directly used Pāṇini.

Pāṇini's Śikṣā-sūtras

आकाशवायुप्रभवः शरीरात्
समुच्चरन् वक्त्रमुपैति नादः ।
स्थानान्तरेषु प्रविभज्यमानो
वर्णत्वमागच्छति यः स शब्दः ॥ [१ ॥]

Metre: *upajāti*. This and the next verse are very early specimens of the *upajāti*.

The first line of this verse clears up the obscurity and ambiguity of a much disputed compound in *Tait. Pr.*, ii, 2, **वायुशरीरसमीरणात्**. The commentary *Triratnabhāṣya* suggests two explanations: (1) **वायुमग्निः समीरयति इति वायुशरीरम । तथाभूतात् समीरणात्**. (2) **वायुश्च शरीरं च वायुशरीरे तयोः समीरणं तस्मात्**. Not satisfied with these, the commentator sought help from his predecessors: **अन्ये त्वाहुः वायोः शरीरे सतः समीरणम्**. Whitney rejected all these, and offered his own, based upon a " more acceptable and less violent " construction: by the setting in motion of

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air by the body. In the light of our verse the compound is to be resolved as **वायोः शरीरात् समीरणं तस्मात्** "by the expulsion of the air from the body".

Vaktra denotes the entire speech-organs. Cf. the use of *mukha* and *āsya*, which mean only the mouth-cavity. On the analogy of the definition of *yantra* in *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* (ch. xxxi, verses 3, 4 [1]), *vaktra* would be most appropriately defined as: **यदृच्छया समुच्चरन्तं प्राणवायुं स्वमनीषया यस्मिन् येन वा वाचयति तद् वक्त्रम्.**

Nāda is here used in nearly the same sense as *śabda* in *Tait. Pr.*, ii, 1, 2, where the production of *śabda* is said to be at the juncture of *kaṇṭha* and *uras*. Cf. also further (xxii, 1): *śabda* (Whitney translates "tone") is the material of all articulate sounds. The Śikṣā of Piṅgalācārya uses *svara* instead: **मारुतस्तूरसि चरन् मन्द्रं जनयति स्वरम्** (verse 9 of Yaj. recension, *Indische Studien*, vol. iv).

For *varṇa* see the verse quoted by Patañjali:—

अक्षरं नक्षरं विद्याद् वर्णं वाङ्गः पूर्वसूत्रे

(Kielhorn's ed., vol. i, p. 36.)

Here Patañjali remarks: **पूर्वसूत्रे वर्णस्याक्षरमिति संज्ञा क्रियते** (ib.). It is not improbable that the author of the verse quoted refers to Pāṇini's Śikṣā by *pūrva-sūtre*; for in the second śloka Pāṇini uses *akṣara* in the sense of *varṇa*.

This verse is to be read along with the concluding sūtra, which serves no less to supplement the present verse than to recapitulate the labours of the author. Cf. *Ṛ.Pr.*, xiii, 1; *V.Pr.*, i, 6–9, etc.

[1] **यदृच्छया प्रवृत्तानि भूतानि स्वेन वर्त्मना ।
नियम्यास्मिन् नयति यत् तद्यन्त्रमिति कीर्त्तितम् ॥
स्वरसेन प्रवृत्तानि भूतानि स्वमनीषया ।
कृतं यस्माद् यमयति तद्वा यन्त्रमिति स्मृतम् ॥**

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तमक्षरं ब्रह्म परं पवित्रं
गुहाशयं सम्यगुशन्ति विप्राः ।
स श्रेयसा चाभ्युदयेन चैव
सम्यक् प्रयुक्तः पुरुषं युनक्ति ॥ [२ ॥]

Metre: *upajāti.* The Buddhist Candragomin would naturally omit this verse.

A verse [1] in the *Mahābhāṣya* (Kielhorn's ed., vol. i, p. 36) states that the knowledge of *Brahman* rests upon a knowledge of letters, and that it is for the acquiring of *Brahman* . . . that letters are taught. In his gloss on this verse Patañjali identifies *akṣara-samāmnāya* with *brahma-rāśi.*

अक्षरं, **परं पवित्रं** and **गुहाशयं** are the attributes both of the letters and of *Brahman.* With *akṣara* "immutable" is to be compared *avyaya* in its twofold use in theology [2] and grammar. **गुहा** would in one case mean the cavity of the heart, in the other the cavity of the mouth.

[1] स्थानमिदं [2] करणमिदं [3, 4] प्रयत्न एष द्विधा- [5] निलः स्थानं पीडयति [6] वृत्तिकारः [7] प्रक्रम एषो [8] ऽथ नाभितलात् ॥ [३ ॥] [3]

The verse (?) enumerates the contents of the eight chapters of this work. The method adopted is very peculiar. It combines the *pratīka*-system of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Anukramaṇīs* with that of the *prakaraṇa-samuddeśa* method of Kauṭalya's *Artha-Śāstra* and Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-Sūtra. Vṛttikāra* is not a very clear description of the sixth chapter, which deals with *savarṇa* letters.

[1] वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।
तदर्थमिष्टबुद्ध्यर्थं लघ्वर्थं चोपदिश्यते ॥

[2] *Kaṭha-Up.*, iii, 15; *Śvet.-Up.*, iii, 12; *Muṇḍ.-Up.*, i, 1, 16, etc.

[3] Sv. Day.'s edition gives before this passage the sūtra **त्रिषष्टिः**, which is followed by a list of the letters of the alphabet, which include the *pluta* vowels, and read the diphthongs in the order *e, o, ai, au.* The four *yamas* are here given as the *hrasva* and *dīrgha anunāsikas,* the *nāsikya* (i.e. the nasalization in a vowel), and the letter ळ. This interpretation of the *yamas* by Sv. Day. is not supported by any authority.

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अथ प्रथमं प्रकरणम् ॥

अकुहविसर्जनीयाः कण्ठ्याः ॥ [१ ॥]

Cf. Candra : स्थानकरणप्रयत्नेभ्यो वर्णा जायन्ते ॥१॥ तत्र स्थानम् ॥ २ ॥ कण्ठो ऽकुहविसर्जनीयानाम् ॥ ३ ॥ Abhayacandrasūri : अकुहविसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलीयानां कण्ठः (Śākaṭāyana-Prakriyā-Saṃgraha, Sañjñā-Prakaraṇa, commentary on sūtra 6).

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi on हयवरट्.[1] But Piṅgalācārya : कण्ठ्यावहौ, जिह्वामूले तु कुः प्रोक्तः (Yaj. rec., śl. 24, 25).

हविसर्जनीयावुरस्यावेकेषाम् ॥ [२ ॥]

Cf. Abhayacandrasūri : हविसर्जनीयोरुरः (ibid.).

Throughout the *Śikṣā* Candra abstains from quoting the observations of any other phonetician.

जिह्वामूलीयो जिह्व्यः ॥ [३ ॥]

Cf. Candra : जिह्वामूलं जिह्वामूलीयस्य ॥ १३ ॥

कवर्गः ऋवर्णश्च जिह्व्यः ॥ [४ ॥]

The repetition of *jihvyaḥ* is un-Pāṇinean, and must be an interpolation, possibly a case of incorporation of a marginal note into the text.

ekeṣāṃ is to be supplied in this aphorism from sūtra 2. This mode of supplying understood words from preceding sūtras having passed over the intermediate ones is well known to the students of Pāṇini under the name *maṇḍūka-pluti* " frog-leap ".[2]

Cf. Abhayacandrasūri : कोर्जिह्वामूलीयस्य च जिह्वामूलम् (ibid.).

R̥.Pr. (i, 18) :—

ऋकारल्कारावथ षष्ठ ऊष्मा ।
जिह्वामूलीयाः प्रथमश्च वर्गः ॥

[1] Jin. concludes the quotations from this *Śikṣā* with इति वचनात्, इति शिक्षाकाराः, etc.

[2] Pat.: अथवा मण्डूकगतयो ऽधिकाराः । तद्यथा मण्डूका उत्प्लुत्योत्प्लुत्य गच्छन्ति तद्वदधिकाराः

सर्वमुखस्थानमवर्णमित्येके ॥ [५ ॥]

Cf. Patañjali (vol. i, p. 61): सर्वमुखस्थानमवर्णमेक इच्छन्ति. Being ignorant of the fact that it is a version of the Śikṣā-sūtra, Kielhorn remarks: The vārttika सर्वमुखस्थानमवर्णमेके may have disappeared before the words सर्वमुखस्थानमवर्णमेक इच्छन्ति. At any rate, Patañjali nowhere else uses the phrase एक इच्छन्ति, except when he is explaining a vārttika.

Abhayacandrasūri (ibid.) quotes the sūtra.

कण्ठ्यानास्यमात्रानित्येके ॥ [६ ॥]

For *āsya* see Patañjali (ib.): लौकिकमास्यमोष्ठात् प्रभृति प्राक् काकलकात्.

इचुयशास्तालव्याः ॥ [७ ॥]

Cf. Candra: कण्ठतालुकमिदेदैताम् ॥ ४ ॥

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi on हयवरट्.

ऋटुरषा मूर्द्धन्याः ॥ [८ ॥]

Cf. Candra: मूर्द्धा ऋटुरषाणाम् ॥ ६ ॥

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.).

रेफो दन्तमूलीय एकेषाम् ॥ [९ ॥]

Cf. *Ṛ.Pr.*, i, 19, 20; *V.Pr.*, i, 68; *Cat.*, i, 28; *T.Pr.*, ii, 41. According to all these authorities *r* was dental or alveolar.

Abhayacandrasūri: रेफस्य दन्तमूलमेकेषाम् (ibid.).

दन्तमूलस्तु तवर्गः ॥ [१० ॥]

ekeṣāṃ is to be supplied from the previous sūtra. This is an instance of *aprāpta-vibhāṣā*. Cf. *Ṛ.Pr.*, i, 19.

ऌतुलसा दन्त्याः ॥ [११ ॥]

Cf. Candra: दन्ता ऌतुलसानाम् ॥ ७ ॥

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.).

वकारो दन्त्यौष्ठ्यः ॥ [१२ ॥]

Cf. Candra: दन्तोष्ठं वकारस्य ॥ १२ ॥

Abhayacandrasūri: वस्य दन्तोष्ठम् (ibid.).

सृक्किणीस्थानमेके ॥ [१३ ॥]

Cf. Abhayacandrasūri: सृक् वस्थानमेकेषाम् (ibid.).

उपूपध्मानीया ओष्ठ्याः ॥ [१४ ॥]

Cf. Candra : **कण्ठोष्ठमुदोदौताम् ॥ ५ ॥ ओष्ठौ पूपध्मानीययोः ॥ ११ ॥**

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.).

अनुस्वारयमा नासिक्याः ॥ [१५ ॥]

Cf. Candra : **नासिकानुस्वारस्य ॥ ८ ॥** So also Abhayacandrasūri (ibid.), the Jain.

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.).

कण्ठनासिक्यमनुस्वारमेके ॥ [१६ ॥]

Cf. Abhayacandrasūri : **कण्ठनासिक्यमेकेषाम्** (ibid.).

यमाश्च नासिक्यजिह्वामूलीया एकेषाम् ॥ [१७ ॥]

एदैतौ कण्ठ्यतालव्यौ ॥ [१८ ॥]

Cf. Candra sūtra 4 quoted above. The affixing of an indicatory *t* after *e, ai, o, au* is common with *Aṣṭādhyāyī.*

ओदौतौ कण्ठ्यौष्ठ्यौ ॥ [१९ ॥]

Cf. Candra sūtra 5 quoted above.

ङञणनमाः स्वस्थाननासिकास्थानाः ॥ [२० ॥]

Cf. Candra : **स्वस्थानानुनासिका ङञणनमाः ॥ ९ ॥**

Jinendrabuddhi : **ञमङणना स्वस्थाना नासिकास्थानाश्च** (ibid.).

द्वे द्वे वर्णौ सन्ध्यक्षराणामारम्भके भवत इति ॥ [२१ ॥]

इति seems quite superfluous.

सरेफ ऋवर्णः ॥ [२२ ॥]

Cf. *Ṛ.Pr.*, xiii, 14 ; *Cat.*, i, 37, 39.

अथ द्वितीयं प्रकरणम् ॥

जिह्व्यतालव्यमूर्द्धन्यदन्त्यानां जिह्वया करणम् ॥ [१ ॥]

Cf. Candra : **करणम् ॥ १४ ॥**

जिह्वामूलेन जिह्व्यानां तद्येषामभ्यासम् ॥ [२ ॥]

तद्येषामभ्यासम् may be an interpolation by one who had despaired of acquiring the right pronunciation. Candra has nothing corresponding to this sūtra. Cf. *V.Pr.*, i, 83, 84 ; *Cat.*, i, 19, 20.

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[जिह्वामध्येन तालव्यानाम् ॥ ३ ॥]

This sūtra is not given in Svāmī Day.'s edition, but the context and a comparison with Candra **जिह्वामध्यं तालव्यानाम्** (sūtra 15 according to Tanjore MS.) leave no doubt that originally the sūtra did form a part of the text. Cf. *V.Pr.*, i, 66, 79; *Cat.*, i, 21.

जिह्वोपाग्रेण मूर्द्धन्यानाम् ॥ [४ ॥]

Cf. Candra: **जिह्वोपाग्रं शिरस्यानाम्** ॥ १६ ॥

जिह्वाग्राधःकरणं वा ॥ [५ ॥]

V.Pr. (i, 78), *Cat.* (i, 22) also describe the cerebrals as retroflex, but according to Pāṇini and in my own speech these are made by the tongue in straight position.

For *ṣ*, *Caturadhyāyikā* (i, 23) says: **षकारस्य द्रोणिका.**

जिह्वाग्रेण दन्त्यानाम् ॥ [६ ॥]

Cf. Candra: **जिह्वाग्रं दन्त्यानाम्** (sūtra 17 according to Tanjore MS.). Liebich gives this and the preceding two Cāndra sūtras in the reverse order—17, 16, 15. Candra adds: **शेषाः स्वस्थानकरणाः** ॥ १८ ॥. See also *V.Pr.*, i, 76; *Cat.*, i, 24.

इत्येतदन्तःकरणम् ॥ [७ ॥]

अन्तःकरणम् — "the *karaṇas* inside the mouth," i.e. those lying between and excluding the *kaṇṭha* and the lips.

The *karaṇas* for *urasya*, *nāsikya*, *kaṇṭhya*,[1] *kaṇṭhyoṣṭhya*, *dantyoṣṭhya*, and *oṣṭhya*, if they had been distinguished as separate from the *sthānas*, would have received the designation *bāhya-karaṇas*.

अथ तृतीयं प्रकरणम् ॥

प्रयत्नोऽपि द्विविधः ॥ [१ ॥]

अपि is redundant because it would imply that the *karaṇas* are twofold.

[1] Pat. (vol. i, p. 61) takes *a* and hence the *kaṇṭhya* letters (?) to be outside the mouth (*āsya*).

आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च ॥ [२ ॥]

Cf. Candra : प्रयत्नो द्विविध आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च ॥ १९ ॥

आभ्यन्तरस्तावत् ॥ [३ ॥]

Cf. Candra : तत्राभ्यन्तरः ॥ २० ॥ संवृतत्वं विवृतत्वं स्पृष्टत्वमीषत्स्पृष्टत्वं च ॥ २१ ॥

स्पृष्टकरणाः स्पर्शाः ॥ [४ ॥]

Cf. Candra : स्पृष्टत्वं स्पर्शानाम् ॥ २६ ॥

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi on Pāṇini, i, 1, 9.

ईषत्स्पृष्टकरणा अन्तःस्थाः ॥ [५ ॥]

Cf. Candra : ईषत्स्पृष्टत्वमन्तःस्थानाम् ॥ २७ ॥

Quoted by Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.).

ईषद्विवृतकरणा ऊष्माणः ॥ [६ ॥]

विवृतकरणा वा ॥ [७ ॥]

Cf. Candra : विवृतत्वं स्वराणामूष्मणां च ॥ २३ ॥

विवृतकरणाः स्वराः ॥ [८ ॥]

Cf. Cāndra sūtra 23. Patañjali (i, 1, 4) cites four sūtras from some unknown work: "स्पृष्टं करणं स्पर्शानाम् ॥ ईषत्स्पृष्टमन्तस्थानाम् ॥ विवृतमूष्मणाम् ॥" ईषदित्येवानुवर्तते । 'स्वराणां च ॥' विवृतम् [supply इत्यनुवर्तते ।] ईषदिति निवृत्तम् ॥

Here three more sūtras have probably fallen out: तेभ्यो विवृततरावेदोतौ ॥ ताभ्यामैदौतौ ॥ ताभ्यामप्याकारः ॥ Cf. Candra : तेभ्यो विवृततरत्वमेदोतोः ॥ २४ ॥ ताभ्यामैदौतोस्ताभ्यामप्याकारस्य ॥ २५ ॥, Piṅg.'s *Śikṣā* : तेभ्योऽपि विवृतावेङौ ताभ्यामैचौ ततोऽपि चा (Yaj. rec., śl. 29).

संवृतस्त्वकारः ॥ [९ ॥]

Cf. Candra : संवृतत्वमकारस्य ॥ २२ ॥

Sṛṣṭidhara quotes the sūtra thus : संवृतस्त्वकार इति शिक्षासूत्रप्रणयनात् (*Bhāṣāvṛtty-arthavivṛtti* on अ अ, the last sūtra).

इत्येषो ऽन्तःप्रयत्नः ॥ [१० ॥]

अथ चतुर्थं प्रकरणम् ॥

अथ बाह्याः प्रयत्नाः ॥ [१ ॥]

Cf. Candra : बाह्यः ॥ २८ ॥

Patañjali (vol. i, p. 61) : सन्ति त्वास्याद् बाह्याः प्रयत्नाः । . . . के पुनस्ते । विवारसंवारौ श्वासनादौ घोषवदघोषवत्ताऽल्पप्राणता महाप्राणतेति ॥

वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीयाः शषसविसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीया यमौ च प्रथमद्वितीयौ विवृतकण्ठाः श्वासानुप्रदानाश्चाघोषाः ॥ [२ ॥]

Cf. Candra : वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीयाः शषसविसर्जनीयजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयाश्च विवृतकण्ठाः श्वासानुप्रदाना अघोषाः ॥ २९ ॥

Patañjali (ibid.) gives the sūtra in an abridged form : तत्र वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीया विवृतकण्ठाः श्वासानुप्रदाना अघोषाश्च ॥ Jinendrabuddhi (on Pāṇini, i, 1, 9) quotes the sūtra, with the variant श्वासानुप्रदाना for श्वासानुप्रदानाश्च.

एके ऽल्पप्राणा इतरे महाप्राणाः ॥ [३ ॥]

Patañjali (ibid.) एके ऽल्पप्राणा अपरे महाप्राणाः

Cf. Candra : प्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमा अन्तस्थाश्चाल्पप्राणाः ॥ ३० ॥ इतरे महाप्राणाः ॥ ३१ ॥

Jinendrabuddhi : वर्ग्ययमाणां प्रथमे ऽल्पप्राणा इतरे सर्वे महाप्राणाः (ibid.).

वर्गाणां तृतीयचतुर्था अन्तःस्था हकारानुस्वारौ यमौ च तृतीयचतुर्थौ नासिक्याश्च संवृतकण्ठा नादानुप्रदाना घोषवन्तश्च ॥ [४ ॥]

Cf. Candra : तृतीयचतुर्थपञ्चमाः सानुस्वारान्तःस्थहकाराः संवृतकण्ठा नादानुप्रदाना घोषवन्तः ॥ ३२ ॥

Patañjali (ibid.) तृतीयचतुर्थाः संवृतकण्ठा नादानुप्रदाना घोषवन्तः ॥

Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.) reads वर्गाणां च, and omits नासिक्याश्च in the middle and च at the end.

[एके ऽल्पप्राणा इतरे महाप्राणाः ॥ ५ ॥]

The sūtra is lacking in the edition of Sv. Day., and in Cāndra Varṇa-sūtras.

Cf. Patañjali (ibid.) : एके ऽल्पप्राणा अपरे महाप्राणाः ॥

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Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.): वर्ग्ययमानां तृतीया अन्तस्थाश्चाल्पप्राणा इतरे सर्वे महाप्राणाः ॥

यथा तृतीयास्तथा पञ्चमाः ॥ [६ ॥]

Quoted by Patañjali (ibid.) and Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.). Patañjali, however, adds: आनुनासिक्यवर्जम्.

आनुनासिक्यमेषामधिको गुणः ॥ [७ ॥]

Quoted by Patañjali (ibid.) and Jinendrabuddhi (ibid.).

शादय ऊष्माणः ॥ [८ ॥]

Cf. Candra: द्वितीयचतुर्थाः शषसहाश्चोष्माणः ॥ ३३ ॥

Jinendrabuddhi: शादय ऊष्माणः । सस्थानेन द्वितीयाः । हकारेण चतुर्था इति शिक्षा (on Pāṇini, i, 1, 49).

सस्थानेन द्वितीयाः ॥ [९ ॥]

ऊष्मणा is understood after सस्थानेन, and ऊष्माणः after द्वितीयाः Cf. the verse cited by the commentator of *Cat.* (i, 10):

सस्थानैरूष्मभिः पृक्तास्तृतीया प्रथमाश्च ये ।
चतुर्थाश्च द्वितीयाश्च सम्पद्यन्त इति स्थितिः ॥

"The third and first letters, when combined with *ūṣma* breath of position corresponding to their own, become fourths and seconds."

हकारेण चतुर्थाः ॥ [१० ॥]

सस्थानेन is to be supplied from the preceding sūtra, as also ऊष्माणः from sūtra 8. *h* is apparently used here to denote voiced *ūṣma* breath.

Candra adds: काद्यो मावसानाः स्पर्शाः ॥ ३४ ॥ अन्तःस्था यरलवा इत्येष बाह्यः प्रयत्नः ॥ ३५ ॥

अथ पञ्चमं प्रकरणम् ॥

तत्र स्पर्शयमवर्णकरो वायुरयःपिण्डवत् स्थानमभिपीडयति ॥ [१ ॥]

अन्तस्था(?)वर्णकरो वायुर्दारुपिण्डवत् ॥ [२ ॥]

ऊष्मस्वरवर्णकरो वायुरूर्णापिण्डवत् ॥ [३ ॥]

उक्ताः स्थानकरणप्रयत्नाः ॥ [४ ॥]

अथ षष्ठं प्रकरणम् ॥

अवर्णो ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतत्वाच्च त्रैस्वर्योपनयेन चानुनासिक्यभेदाच्च संख्यातो ऽष्टादशात्मकः ॥ [१ ॥]

Cf. Candra : अत्र चावर्णो ह्रस्वो दीर्घः प्लुत इति त्रिधा भिन्नः ॥ ३६ ॥ प्रत्येकमुदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितभेदेन सानुनासिकनिरनुनासिकभेदेन चाष्टादशधा भवति ॥ ३७ ॥

Kāśikā (i, 1, 9) : अ अ॒ अ॑ इति त्रयो ऽकारा उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरिताः प्रत्येकं सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्च ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतभेदादष्टादशधा भिद्यन्ते ॥

एवमिवर्णादयः ॥ [२ ॥]

Cf. Candra : एवमिवर्णोवर्णावृवर्णश्च ॥ ३८ ॥

Kāśikā (ibid.) : तथेवर्णस्तथोवर्णस्तथा ऋवर्णः ॥

ऌवर्णस्य दीर्घा न सन्ति ॥ [३ ॥]

Cf. Candra : ऌवर्णस्य दीर्घा न सन्ति तेन स द्वादशधा भवति ॥ ३९ ॥

Quoted in *Kāśikā* (ibid.).

तं द्वादशभेदमाचक्षते ॥ [४ ॥]

Cf. Cāndra sūtra 39. Quoted in *Kāśikā* (ibid.), with the variant -प्रभेदम्.

यदृच्छाशब्दाशक्तिजानुकरणे वा यदा दीर्घाः स्युस्तदा ऽष्टादशभेदं ब्रुवते — कॢपक इति ॥ [५ ॥]

Cf. the vārttika : ऌकारोपदेशो यदृच्छाशक्तिजानुकरणप्लुत्याद्यर्थः (on ऋऌक्, *Mbh.*, vol. i, p. 19).

सन्ध्यक्षराणां ह्रस्वा न सन्ति ॥ [६ ॥]

Cf. Candra : सन्ध्यक्षराणां ह्रस्वाभावात् तान्यपि द्वादशधा ॥ ४० ॥

Quoted in *Kāśikā* (ibid.).

तान्यपि द्वादशप्रभेदानि ॥ [७ ॥]

Cf. Cāndra sūtra 40.

Quoted in *Kāśikā* (ibid.).

अन्तःस्था द्विप्रभेदा रेफवर्जिताः ॥ [८ ॥]

Quoted by Candra (sūtra 48) and *Kāśikākāra* (ibid.).

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सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्च ॥ [९ ॥]

Quoted by Candra (ibid.) and *Kāśikākāra* (ibid.). Cf. also Patañjali (vol. i, p. 16) : **सन्ति हि यणः सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्च.**

रेफोष्मणां सवर्णा न सन्ति ॥ [१० ॥]

Quoted by Patañjali (vol. i, p. 28) and *Kāśikākāra* (ibid.).

वर्ग्यो वर्ग्येण सवर्णः ॥ [११ ॥]

Quoted in *Kāśikā* (ibid.).

अथ सप्तमं प्रकरणम् ॥

इत्येष क्रमो वर्णानाम् ॥ [१ ॥]

तत्रैते कौशिकीयाः श्लोकाः ॥ [२ ॥]

Here Sv. Dayānanda Sarasvatī adds a note that "those verses which have nothing in addition to the sixth chapter have not been written here". These verses are now lost to us, and perhaps will never be discovered again.

सर्वान्ते ऽयोगवाहत्वाद् विसर्गादिरिहाष्टकः ।
अकार उच्चारणार्थो व्यञ्जनेष्वनुबध्यते ॥ [३ ॥]
ᳵकᳶपयोः कपकारौ च तद्वर्गीयाश्रयत्वतः ।
पलिकक्नौ चख्ख्नतुर्जगिम-र्जघ्नुरित्यत्र यद् वपुः ॥ [४ ॥]
नासिक्यनात्तं(?)कादीनां त इमे यमाः ।
तेषामुकारः संस्थानवर्गीयलक्षणः ॥ [५ ॥]

The last verse is corrupt.

अथाष्टमं प्रकरणम् ॥

उक्ताः स्थानकरणप्रयत्नाः ॥ [१ ॥]

The sūtra has already been given at the close of the fifth chapter.

इह यत्रस्था वर्णा उपलभ्यन्ते तत् स्थानम् ॥ [२ ॥]

Cf. *T.Pr.* (ii, 31, 33): **स्वराणां यत्रोपसंहारस्तत् स्थानम् ॥ अन्येषां तु यत्र स्पर्शनं तत् स्थानम् ॥**

येन निर्वृत्यते तत् करणम् ॥ [३ ॥]

Cf. *T.Pr.* (ii, 32, 34): यदुपसंहरति तत् करणम् ॥, or—according to others—येन स्पर्शयति तत् करणम् ॥

प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः ॥ [४ ॥]

Patañjali (on Pāṇini, i, 1, 9) quotes this sūtra, analyses the word *prayatna-*, and gives a long discussion, at the end of which he establishes that प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः is the only possible definition: अथ कः प्रयत्नः । प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः । प्रपूर्वाद् यततेर्भावसाधनो नङ्-प्रत्ययः ॥ न हि प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः । किं तर्हि । प्रारम्भो यत्नस्य प्रयत्नः । यदि प्रारम्भो यत्नस्य प्रयत्नः, एवमप्यवर्णस्य एङोश्च सवर्णसञ्ज्ञा प्राप्नोति । ... एवं तर्हि — प्रयतनमेव प्रयत्नः ॥

Bhartṛhari in his commentary on this passage remarks: प्रारम्भो यत्नस्य प्रयत्न एतद् भाष्यकारस्य दर्शनम् (Berlin fragmentary MS., p. 95*a*, ll. 6–7), and thus indicates that प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः in *Mbh.* is a quotation.

नाभिप्रदेशात् प्रयत्नप्रेरितः प्राणो नाम वायुरूर्ध्वमाक्रामन्नुरआदीनां स्थानानामन्यतमस्मिन् स्थाने प्रयत्नेन विचार्यते ॥ [५ ॥]

वि + चर् is here used in the sense of "to pass".

Jinendrabuddhi (on Pāṇini, i, 1, 9) quotes the sūtra with the variations वायुः प्राणो नाम, उरःप्रभृतीनां, omitting स्थानानां after it, and in the end विधार्यते for विचार्यते. Sv. Day.'s edition has the colophon: समाप्ता चेयं वर्णोच्चारणशिक्षा.

The text as presented here is in a corrupt form, the seventh chapter being the most unsatisfactory. Like the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, it is a sūtra work with eight chapters. Being a primer for the instruction of children, the sūtras are very simple and clear, though there are instances of *maṇḍūka-pluti* and *aprāpta-vibhāṣā*. The device of affixing an indicatory *t* to vowels and *u* to the first letters of the five classes of mutes has also been made use of. Words like *hrasva*, *dīrgha*, *pluta*, *savarṇa* are not defined here. These have been later on explained in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. *Prayatna* defined in the *Śikṣā* is naturally

supposed to be known to the students of *Aṣṭ.*, i, 1, 9, just as the concluding sūtra of *Aṣṭ.* presupposes संवृतस्त्वकारः (*Śikṣā*, iii, 9). The *svaras* have been dealt entirely in the grammar, though Candra thought it more appropriate to include the definitions of *udātta*, *anudātta*, and *svarita* as well as of *hrasva*, *dīrgha*, and *pluta* in the *Varṇa-sūtras*.

Quoting of different definitions and pronunciations is a very important feature of the *Śikṣā*.

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